

Commerce and Radicalism.

The defeat of Radicalism in the two great commercial centres of the West—Cincinnati and Chicago—leaves it no resting place in the great cities of the Union. Its reputation by Philadelphia and Boston last Fall, and the very large increase of the Democratic majorities in New York and Baltimore, followed as they have been by the wonderful victories of the Democrats in Cincinnati and Chicago this Spring, tell how the people of these great commercial centres detest the mad and wicked policy which keeps the Union divided, Africanizes the Southern States and attempts to strike down the Executive head of the nation.

These are not chance results. The striking increase of Conservative majorities in New York and Baltimore, and the redemption from Radicalism of Philadelphia, Boston, Cincinnati and Chicago—this unanimity among the business men—indicates a mighty change in the views, feelings, and opinions of the "solid men" of the Union. These men, more than any others, first feel the evil influences of bad legislation upon the prosperity of the country, and consequently show the earliest front against any party whose continued success must result in commercial depression and ruin. They at least have fully realized the fact that a longer continuance of the Radical party in power will be followed by still more disastrous consequences to the material interests of the whole country. The taxes are enormous. They are undermining the fortunes of some, and preventing others from realizing even the narrowest margin of profit on their employed capital.

The "solid men" of these cities whose wealth and liberality enabled the government to prosecute the war with success, will not longer maintain a party in power which supports, for selfish purposes, a military government in the Southern States, to place white men at the mercy of negroes, at the cost of one hundred and twenty millions of dollars per year; Freedmen's Bureau to feed and clothe idle and worthless negroes, and support idle and worthless officers at a cost of five millions of dollars, and other extravagances indulged in to keep up the ill-feeling between the sections and prevent reconstruction, while merchants complain of dull times, manufacturers are stopping their mills or run them with little profit, and the mechanic and laborer finds his daily, or weekly, or monthly pay totally inadequate for the support of his family, doubled by the taxes to meet these very expenditures. They see that the support they gave to carry on the war has been abused in order to continue it long after peace and good-will should have blessed this land with plenty, and taxes should have been reduced to their former proportions, and all the States should have resumed their wonted positions in the Union.

These facts lie at the foundation of that revolution, which has placed every leading commercial city in the vanguard of Conservatism which is rushing forward with irresistible force sweeping over the entire country. In these centres of capital and depots of trade, commerce and manufactures, the vast debt and unparalleled taxation of the country have made men think and divine their causes. Tossing mercantile credit, depression in trade and declension in demand, and the continued imposition and increase of taxes forced an abandonment of the narrow-minded policy which is sacrificing the best interests of the nation upon the altar of sectional hate and political prejudices.

The Articles of Impeachment.

As the Senate votes separately on each of the eleven articles of Impeachment, and as we are constantly having the telegraph announce the opinions of Senators upon each by its number, and conjectures as to the certain defeat of one and the doubtful status of another, we publish, in an abbreviated form, the substance of each. Pending the vote and during the discussions, rumors and speculations, which come to us daily, it will prove convenient to have the points of the indictment itself at hand, and we advise our readers to cut them out so that easy reference can be made to them:

Article I. That the President issued an order to remove Secretary Stanton, with intent to violate the Tenure-of-office act.

Article II. That he by letter authorized Lorenzo Thomas to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, when there was no vacancy in that office, with intent to violate the same act.

Article III. That he authorized Thomas to act as Secretary, with the intent to violate the Constitution of the United States.

Article IV. That he conspired with Lorenzo Thomas and others, by intimidations and threats to hinder Mr. Stanton from holding his office as Secretary of War, thus violating the Constitution and the conspiracy act, of July 31st, 1861, thus committing a high crime in office.

Article V. That he conspired with Lorenzo Thomas, and other persons unknown, to prevent the execution of the Tenure-of-office act; and, in pursuance of this conspiracy, attempted to prevent Mr. Stanton from holding his office of Secretary of War, thus committing a high misdemeanor in office.

Article VI. That he conspired with Lorenzo Thomas to seize by force the War Department, contrary to the conspiracy act, and with intent to violate the Tenure-of-office act, thus committing a high crime in office.

Article VII. That he conspired with Lorenzo Thomas to seize by force the War Department, with intent to violate the Tenure-of-office act; thus committing a high misdemeanor in office.

Article VIII. That he delivered to Lorenzo Thomas a letter of authority to act as Secretary of War *ad interim*, with intent unlawfully to control the military appropriations, in violation of the Constitution and of the Tenure-of-office act; and so committing a high misdemeanor in office.

Article IX. That on February 22d last he

instructed Major General Emory that that part of the Appropriation act of March 2, 1867, which provides that all orders of the President and War Department relating to military operations shall be issued through the General of the army, was unconstitutional, and tried to induce Emory to violate it, by receiving orders direct from the President; with the further intent to prevent the execution of the Tenure-of-office act, and to prevent Mr. Stanton from holding the office of Secretary of War.

Article X. That he delivered inflammatory and scandalous harangues, at various times, to bring contempt upon Congress. In this charge, specification first quotes a speech at Washington, August 18th, 1866; about a body "hanging on the verge of the government."

Specification second: The Cleveland speech of September 3d, 1866—"Your Congress that is trying to break up the government," etc.

Specification third: The St. Louis speech of September 8, 1866—"If I have played the Judas, who has been my Christ? I have played the Judas with? Was it Thad. Stevens? Was it Wendell Phillips?" etc.

These speeches are charged as a high misdemeanor in office.

Article XI. That he declared in a public speech in Washington, August 18, 1866, that the Thirty-ninth Congress was not a constitutional Congress of the United States; but a Congress of part of the States; thus denying the validity of their legislation, except so far as he chose to approve it; and in pursuance of this declaration, attempted to prevent the execution of the Tenure of Office act, by unlawfully contriving means of preventing Edwin M. Stanton from resuming the office of Secretary of War, when the Senate had refused to concur in his suspension; and, also, attempted to prevent the execution of the Appropriation act of March 2, 1867, (as in article 9); and, also, of the act of March 2, 1867, "for the more efficient government of the rebel States," thus committing a high misdemeanor in office.

Our True Policy.

Our future fate and history are at the mercy of the dominant people of the United States. We are all agreed that our only hope for a change in the success of the Democratic and Conservative majority of the North, acting together under the organization of the Democratic party of the United States. That organization shall fail to carry the elections in November next, then we apprehend the policy of the Radical party will be the policy of the country for years to come.

If this be so, where is the utility or propriety of State organizations in the South making platforms? When the National Radical Convention meets at Chicago, and the National Democratic Convention meets at New York, both will make platforms. They will be National platforms. It will be time enough for the Southern people to range themselves under and adopt those platforms for the coming year. And then, we can see no good in State platforms of any kind.

Raleigh Sentinel.

In the above extract we have indeed the true policy for present Southern political action. So far as State politics are concerned, we have no local issues. The evils we suffer have a national and not a State paternity, and we must look to the same source for relief. No one supposes for an instant that the defeat of the Constitution in the late election would have prevented the admission of North Carolina into the Union under its provisions or others equally objectionable. We have only to look to the case of Alabama to disabuse our minds of any such thoughts. That State rejected its Constitution under the very enactments which Congress had proposed, yet it is included in the "Omnibus Bill," which admits the other Southern States. And we see that where the Constitutions ratified by that portion of the people they had designated as loyal, did not suit them, as in the case of Georgia, it was changed at the mere pleasure of Congress. All we could have hoped by a defeat of our Constitution was to save our honor untarnished—to have refused the degrading terms offered for our acceptance—to have delayed the evil day until relief should come from the people of the whole country through the ballot-box.

We have never been in a condition since the war to propose any means for our relief. Congress has merely permitted an useless choice, making its independent exercise a potent weapon against us. Every submission to its unjust demands has only been met by other and harsher terms, and every refusal to accept its degrading offers has been the occasion of bitter denunciation and the excuse for further punishments and proscriptions. We have long been convinced that beyond a solitary delay we had nothing to hope except from the people at the North.

With this view of the case it is worse than idle for the Southern States to be trying themselves up by party platforms—declaring for or against certain measures, which will either remain as they are now decided for us, or be overturned by those who have yet the power to uphold the fundamental law of the land.

One of these issues is that of qualified negro suffrage. So far as this question depends upon ourselves, it has already been swallowed up by the adoption of universal negro suffrage. And so long as the solid line of seventy thousand negro votes is reinforced by a few thousand whites, we are powerless to modify this decision. And they will continue to receive this support just so long as ambitious and bad men are willing to sacrifice their manhood and character to reap the rewards of their base apostasy. To those of us who do not regard these reconstruction acts and the elections which have followed them as a finality, but hope to see it all reversed at no distant day, by that tribunal from which there is no appeal—the people—can have no platforms to make, and no pledges to give. The Convention which meets in New York in July will establish the one and make the other, and by these conditions we must abide or accept those already fastened upon us by the illegal legislation of Congress. And judging from the platforms and the decisions of all the Northern States in which elections have lately been held, there can be no doubt that the position of the party will be upon these questions at least, and if we should differ from it, our defection will do no good, and may result in much evil.

If the people of the United States continue to sustain the Radical policy of Reconstruction, the Southern States can do nothing to change the results of the recent elections, and universal negro suffrage, whether for good or evil, is fastened upon us. But if otherwise, the decision of the question will assuredly revert back to the legal citizens of the States. Then, and not until then, will the question of qualified negro suffrage be a practical one. It will then come before us on its merits, and we have always believed, in this event, that those negroes who have, by their industry, intelligence and character, entitled themselves to the favorable consideration of their white friends, will be justly dealt with. No rights which they are entitled to will be denied them, and no privileges which will be for the general good, will be refused them.

"Arnolds and Burrs."

"We know there are a few colored men, and a few Northern men among us who are Conservatives, so-called. Few persons have reached a depth of political degradation more easily imagined than described. There were Arnolds and Burrs in the old time, and the breed seems not entirely to have run out.—Raleigh Standard.

It is well enough for Holden to denounce Northern men, who live South and vote as a majority of their friends voted in many of the Northern States, as traitors, and to vilify those colored people who preferred to stand with their friends, "tried and true," than to follow after the desperate political adventurers who are leading most of their fellows to ruin; but when we intimate that native Southerners who desert their section and friends have "reached a depth of political degradation more easily imagined than described," we are condemned without trial and set aside for execution. Poor Holden—out of his own mouth is he condemned; with his political degradation he has sunk personal honor, and none have a more supreme contempt for him than the few—very few—honorable Northern men who, for party purposes, were induced to vote for him.

Impeachment.

The Radicals have played a desperate game and lost. The country will take the failure of impeachment as the "step backward" so fatal to revolutions. The outrage sought to be perpetrated was so heinous, the crime so great, that nothing but success could have saved them, if that could have done so, from disgraceful disaster—defeat but adds contempt to crime.

The party had staked so much upon this issue, that it is hardly possible that the seven contumacious Senators, who dared to their sworn duty, regardless of party bests, will soon be forgiven—and in Senators Fessenden and Trumbull, at least, we recognize the head and front of the party. Every future failure will find excuse in this, and all mishaps will be visited upon these Senators. We believe that in this vote we have the beginning of the end which will terminate in the disintegration of Radicalism. God grant that our predictions may be soon realized.

Negro Suffrage.

The Round Table, of April 25th, has a thoughtful and comprehensive article on the vexed question of "Negro Suffrage." We reproduce it prominently, as the most enlightened view of Northern Conservatism, and as a breakeater to the impetuous spirit of some who, for the sake of spoils, may possibly be led into a bog, from which extrication will be difficult and well-nigh hopeless. The poor South is sadly tormented and miserably tempted; but she need not unnecessarily add to her miseries by becoming a driver and a show. The Round Table says:

"Negro suffrage in the Southern States is commonly looked upon as involving nothing more than the admission of an additional number of the people to a share in the government. It is taken to be like the recent extension of suffrage in England. Practically it is no such question. Negro suffrage in the South is not a mere extension of the governing power to a larger number of the people; it is a proposition to give power in our public affairs to a new and strange people. It is not to bring a larger proportion of the community to the polls; it is to introduce a new community. It is like, but worse than, a proposition to admit the Republic of Hayti into the Union.

"Practically there are two separate communities in the South; a black community and a white one. They are separate now and will always remain separated. No human power can blend them into one. The white race in this country will not mix with the black any more than it will with the native Indian. The whites and the blacks will not intermarry; they will not visit each other's houses; they will not go to church together. An effort will be made to force them together in the public schools; but, like all laws which seek to turn human nature violently back from its instincts, this effort will simply intensify the repugnance it seeks to overcome, and the law will be violated and evaded so extensively that little or no education will be afforded to any one.

"The blacks at the South constitute a black people; the whites a white people. They cannot be blended into one people; for whenever the black and white blood do intermix, the mulatto progeny is rejected from among the white people and remains a part of the black community. What is really proposed in negro suffrage, then, is to constitute one state of these two repelling elements, they being in nearly equal proportion; to blend together these two distinct and repulsive elements in the work of a common government; to blend together races which, even when they are mixed for a moment, start back from each other instinctively, and remain separate; to mix these elements harmoniously in the great and difficult work of public government, while in none of the every-day duties of life can they be made to mix. If the blacks instead of being here, were in their native Africa or in Hayti, and had all the intelligence of our negroes, and it were proposed to import into any Northern State as many negroes as were equal to its white population, with the condition that the negroes should share, man for man, in the common government—such a proposition would excite universal horror. It would be looked upon as the wildest absurdity to attempt

to compose an orderly and harmonious state out of two discordant elements."

"No successful, orderly and prosperous State ever was so made up. Celt and Saxon, who are very much nearer in blood relationship than are the white man and the black, could not, in England, make up a State, a common government, in which each were to take part; one race ruled. Norman and Saxon, who, by going but a few years back, could trace up a common ancestry, could not make up a mixed government of the two until intermarriage had effaced the distinction between them.—The distinction cannot in this instance be effaced, even in time, for the mulatto continues to be a black. If all the Southern population became mulattoes, that would not solve the difficulty; for the mulatto, as a race, will not live. It is practically not a race, but, as its name imports, a mule. In the mixed governments now proposed for the South the effort is to be made, in spite of all the warnings of history, to blend together the two races which are the furthest apart in nature, and the most unlike of any two races in the world. The white man of this country stands at the head of civilization; the black almost at the foot of the list of savages.

"The present population of the South is divided by a law higher than our laws into two classes; distinctly marked classes. This division is sure to be permanent. It is a natural instinct in men so situated to cling to their own class, to counsel only with it, to act only with it. There will be, then, no political parties there but the white party and the black party. A few renegades from the whites will, for the sake of power, go over to be leaders of the blacks, but in the main the division will always be as now—whites on one side, blacks on the other. Whichever of these parties may get the ascendancy in local politics, the government will be a class government; seeking the interest not of a people, but of the ruling class. The blacks have the ascendancy now not by their own force, but by the aid of machinery supplied by the General Government. In some of the States provision has been made for such test-oaths as will deter most of the whites from voting. In others, military arrangements have been made for controlling the dissatisfied whites. In some, large bodies of white men are directly disfranchised and shut out from a share in the government. So long as these mixed governments exist, there will be a constant struggle for one class or the other to get the upper hand. If the whites were in the ascendancy now, no doubt nearly all the blacks would have been shut out from a share in the government.

"There can be no such thing as a blended representation of the community as one people when the community itself is not blended. The State governments are sure to be class governments, representing not the whole people, but either the black as a ruling class, or the whites. We are, in fact, narrowed down to this choice: shall the white men rule in the South, or shall the blacks there rule the whites?—Strive as we may, we shall be able to bring the problem only to one or the other of these solutions.

"The great evil of negro government will not be that a few negroes may get into Congress or into the State Legislatures; that would be a small evil. A few well-chosen negroes might teach good manners to some of the white members of the present Congress. The great evil of negro suffrage is that it means, in many districts, negro justices of the peace and negro constables. The home government of neighborhoods are the governments most important to the mass of men. If these are not such as to conduce to order, content and comfort, the country at large cannot have its just measure of peace, industry and prosperity. There is no Northern neighborhood which could endure negro magistrates and negro local officers; either the negro officers would be expelled by violence or the whites would abandon the neighborhood.

"There is no such thing possible as putting the negroes and the white men at the South on a footing of equality. Nature forbids it. Unless they can be put on such an exact footing of equality that in every relation of life the distinction of color is lost sight of, there can be no such thing as the representation of the people in the proposed governments at the South. The public officers of all kinds will represent one people or the other; they will represent the majority, and the majority will always be either the black people exclusively or the white people. Class governments under universal negro suffrage at the South are inevitable. The whites, being disfranchised, cannot now assert their natural superiority; and the negro governments which may get into power will resort to continued disfranchisement as their means of retaining the control.

"Negro suffrage, enforced by the North, means, practically, not negro equality, but negro superiority; that the negroes, as a class, shall rule the whites."

Death of Hon. John A. Gilmer.

The death of Hon. John A. Gilmer is announced in the Greensboro' Patriot of the 15th instant, as follows:

"We have barely time before going to press, to announce the death of the Hon. John A. Gilmer. This melancholy event occurred about ten o'clock on Thursday morning, at his residence in this place. To all who knew Mr. Gilmer, the intelligence of his death will be sad tidings. We hope some pen more competent for the task than our own, will pay to his character the tribute it so eminently deserves. Truly a great man in our midst hath fallen."

An overworked woman is always a sad sight—sadder a great deal than an overworked man, because she is so much more fertile in capacities of suffering than a man. She has so many varieties of headache, sometimes as if Jael were driving the nail which killed Sisera into her temple; sometimes tightening around the brow as if her cap-band were Luke's iron crown, and then her neuralgias, and back-aches, and her fits of depression, and many neuralgias, linked to her fine and noble structure, entitle her to pity, when she is placed in conditions which develop her nervous tendencies.

The New Internal Revenue Law.

The new internal revenue bill was reported on Tuesday from the committee of Ways and Means, and ordered to be printed and re-committed. The bill creates the Internal Revenue Bureau into a separate department of the Government, with the present Commissioner at its head, with a salary of \$6,000 per annum. His powers are greatly enlarged, and he is rendered, as far as possible independent of the President. The bill also provides for six deputy commissioners, who are to be the chiefs of divisions in the office here, and otherwise reorganize the whole department. It also provides for a solicitor of internal revenue, to be appointed by the President, with the consent of the Senate, who is to be independent of the Commissioner, and to act as a check upon him, as the consent of the solicitor is required to many acts of the Commissioner before they are valid. The bill leaves the tax on whiskey at \$2, but also taxes retail sales of the same. Tax on all kinds of chewing tobacco is fixed at 40 cents per pound, and on smoking and cigars at 10 cents. Cigars are all taxed at \$10 per thousand. Tobacco remains at 10 cents. Taxes on sales of merchandise and mechanical productions are one-fifth of one cent, over \$5,000. Special taxes are largely increased in many cases, requiring them to be paid on many branches of business heretofore exempt.—The following are some of the items provided for in the new bill:

Retail dealers whose sales exceed \$5,000 and not \$25,000, pay	\$20 00
Wholesale dealers (\$2 for each \$1,000 in excess of \$25,000) whose annual sales exceed \$25,000	50 00
Bankers using a capital of \$50,000 or less, (\$2 for each \$1,000 additional)	20 00
Brokers	100 00
Commercial brokers	20 00
Foreign commercial brokers	5,000 00
Insurance agents, when receipts from fees and commissions do not exceed \$2,000	10 00
Exceeding \$2,000	20 00
Auctioneers, if annual sales do not exceed \$10,000	10 00
Not exceeding \$25,000	20 00
Exceeding \$25,000	50 00
Produce brokers whose annual sales do not exceed \$10,000	10 00
Exceeding \$10,000	20 00
Cheese and butter dealers	25 00
Retail liquor dealers	200 00
Distillers	100 00
Brewers	100 00
Dealers in tobacco, when annual sales do not exceed \$5,000	10 00
Exceeding \$5,000	20 00
Manufacturers of tobacco, when annual sales do not exceed \$5,000	10 00
Exceeding \$5,000	20 00
Manufacturers of cigars, when annual sales do not exceed \$5,000	10 00
Exceeding \$5,000	20 00
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Exceeding \$5,000	20 00

The Negro Suffrage Question.

The Anti Slavery Standard expresses the hope that "the times will not lend themselves to those who seek either to deprive the negroes of the South of the ballot altogether, or to make its use dependent upon tests of education or property." We certainly would not treat negroes differently from white men, under the same conditions. Both are men; both as men have rights of citizens, and a claim to that degree and form of self-government for which provision is made in our institutions. And we know no possible ground, in political ethics or in the constitution and law of the country, for making color a line of distinction between citizens—those of one color being admitted to the exercise of political or civil rights, and those of another color being excluded. We never have accepted, or supported or countenanced the doctrine that this is exclusively a "white man's government." As President Johnson said in his speeches to the negroes of Washington, "It is your government as much as anybody's."

But the ballot is a political power—the highest form in which political power can be exercised; and its exercise involves a corresponding responsibility. There has never been a time when the idea of voting was separated from the idea of being qualified to vote. Some qualifications always have been deemed essential. Intelligence, knowledge of the questions involved, some sort of acquaintance with the duty and responsibility which go with the ballot has always been held to be indispensable. Now from the very nature of the case, it is impossible that the great mass of the Southern negroes should have any sort of qualification. They know absolutely nothing of the subjects which their votes are to help decide. They do not, in voting, exercise their own judgment, act upon their own opinions, or exert their own free and independent will. There is no pretence that they do anything of the sort. They vote in direct implicit obedience to the will of others, and we cannot regard such a vote as safe, as just to the people who are to be affected by it, or as in harmony with the principles and interests of republican government. It is not because they are black, but because they are ignorant—necessarily, ignorant of the duties of citizenship, and doubt the wisdom and the justice of putting the supreme power of the ballot at once into their hands.

We think Congress and the country generally hold the same opinion with ourselves on this point. A majority of the Republicans in Congress have decided not to enact universal, unqualified suffrage for the negroes; and a very large majority of the people throughout the North were opposed to such an enactment on its merits. But they yielded finally to what was deemed a political necessity.—They gave universal suffrage to the blacks, and they were not allowed to get out of it. They were not allowed to get out of it, in general, but because they would use it in accordance with the loyal sentiment of the country in the reconstruction of the Southern States—and this was believed to be the one thing needful, above all others, at this particular juncture. And political power has been put into their hands to meet a special emergency, and then permanently to control the legislation of the country.

This matter of reconstruction is in its nature temporary. Its object is to get the Southern States reorganized and back into the Union. When that is done the people of the States resume the right of self-government. They can then amend the Constitutions, reform their laws, prescribe new qualifications of suffrage if they see fit, and in all respects become masters of their own affairs. And we cannot help hoping that all parties, all classes, and both races will sooner or later come to the conclusion that *impartial suffrage*—suffrage which shall exact no qualifications for its exercise, by both blacks and whites, will constitute the safest and wisest basis for a Republican government.

New York Times.

Beware of closed cast-iron stores. The French Academy of Sciences has lately been discussing the unhealthy effects of these articles. It is said—and experiments support the assertion—that cast-iron, when heated to a certain extent, is pervious to some gasses and coal combustion to filter through it. They who have to sit long in apartments so heated, often complain of oppression and headaches; henceforth they must beware of the unhealthy effects of these articles. It is said—and experiments support the assertion—that cast-iron, when heated to a certain extent, is pervious to some gasses and coal combustion to filter through it. They who have to sit long in apartments so heated, often complain of oppression and headaches; henceforth they must beware of the unhealthy effects of these articles. It is said—and experiments support the assertion—that cast-iron, when heated to a certain extent, is pervious to some gasses and coal combustion to filter through it. 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